

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

The following separate Article to the Definitive Treaty, added to the Treaty itself, which will be found in Register, p. 321, renders that Instrument complete.

It is agreed that the omission of some titles which may have taken place in the present Treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages made use of in all the copies of the present Treaty, shall not form an example, which may be alleged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like Treaties in any other language, shall be conformed with; the present Treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Batavian Republic, have signed the present separate article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the Twenty-seventh Day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two: the Sixth Germinal, Year Ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.)

Cornwallis.

Joseph Buonaparté.

J. Nicholas De Azara.

R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

DECREE RESPECTING EMIGRANTS,

Published at Paris, April 27.

ARTICLE I. Dispositions relative to the Persons of Emigrants.

Article I. An Amnesty is granted for Emigration, every individual who is not definitively erased.

II. Those individuals who are not in France, shall be bound to return before the 23d of September next.

III. Immediately on their return, they shall declare before the Commissaries appointed for that purpose, in the cities of Calais, Brussels, Mayence, Strasburg, Geneva, Nice, Bayonne, Perpignan, and Bordeaux, that they return to the Territory of the Republic by virtue of the Amnesty.

IV. This declaration shall be followed by an Oath of Fidelity to the Government established by the Constitution; and that they will not entertain either directly or indirectly, any connection or correspondence with the Enemies of the State.

V. Those who have received from Foreign Powers,

Places, Titles, Decorations, Gratuities, or Pensions, shall be bound to declare it before the same Commissaries, and formally to renounce the same.

VI. Those who shall not return to France before the 23d of September, and have fulfilled the conditions prescribed by the preceding articles, shall remain excluded out of the present Amnesty, and definitively placed upon the List of Emigrants, unless they prove, in due form, that it was impossible for them to return to the Territory of the Republic within the time fixed, and that they have before the expiration of that time fulfilled before the Agents of the Republic, in the Countries where they reside, the other conditions above expressed.

VII. Those who are at present on the French Territory, shall be bound under the same penalty and definitive establishment on the List of Emigrants, to make within one month from the date of the present Act, before the Prefect of the Department where they reside, sitting in the Council of Prefecture, the same declaration, oath, and renunciation.

VIII. The Commissaries and Prefects charged with receiving such declarations, oaths, and renunciations, shall without delay transmit to the Minister of the Interior, in the form of a dispatch, the Process-verbal of their proceedings, on sight of which the Minister shall make out a Certificate of Amnesty, which shall be sent to the Minister of Justice, by whom it shall be signed, and delivered to the individual concerned.

IX. Such individual shall, until the delivery of such Certificate of Amnesty, reside in the Commune in which he made the declaration of his return to the Territory of the Republic.

X. The following persons are exempted out of the present Amnesty. 1st, Those individuals who have commanded Armies assembled in hostility to the Republic. 2d, Those who have had rank in the Enemies' Armies. 3d, Those who since the foundation of the Republic, have held places in the Households of the ci-devant French Princes. 4th, Those who are known to have been, or were actually movers or agents of the civil or foreign war. 5th, Those who commanded by land or sea, as well as the representatives of the people, who have been found guilty of Treason against the Republic, and the Archbishops and Bishops who, despising legitimate authority, have refused to give in their resignation.

XI. The individuals denominated in the preceding article, are definitively placed on the List of Emigrants; but the number so definitively placed on the List of Emigrants, shall not exceed 1000, of whom 500 shall be named previous to the 23d of September next.

XII. The Emigrants to whom the Amnesty is extended, as well as those who have been definitively erased from the List of Emigrants, according to the Decree of the Consuls of the 28th Vendémiaire (October 20,) 1801, shall for the space of ten years from the date of the Erasure, or Certificate of Amnesty, be under the special inspection of Government.

XIII. The Government, if it judges expedient, shall have the power to oblige the individuals placed under the said inspection, to remove to the distance of 20 leagues from their ordinary place of residence. They may also be removed to a greater distance, if circumstances should require it; but in that case, the order of removal must first have been committed to the Council of State.

XIV. After the expiration of the ten years of inspection, all the individuals against whom the Government shall not have been obliged to put the above-mentioned measures in execution, shall cease to be subject to the said inspection; it may be extended to the whole duration of the lives of those against whom these measures have been put in execution.

XV. The individuals subjected to the inspection of Government shall enjoy, in other respects, all their rights as Citizens.

TITLE II. *Arrangement relative to Goods.*

XVI. The individuals included in the Amnesty, shall not be entitled, under any pretext, or in any case, to interfere with the arrangements respecting property, which have been entered into between the Republic and individuals before the present Amnesty.

XVII. Those of their goods which are still in the hands of the Nation, (with the exception of woods and forests, which have been declared unalienable by law, immoveables applied to public service, the rights of property real or pretended to impositions on the grand canals, claims which they may have on the Public Treasury, and the extinction of which took place in the moment of confusion, when the Republic seized on their goods and debts), shall be restored to them without any of the fruits, which, in conformity to a law passed, pertain to the Republic, down to the day on which they obtain their Certificate of Amnesty.

The present *Senatus-Consulte* shall be transmitted by a Message to the Consuls of the Republic.

(Signed) TRONCHET, President;
Chapel and Serrurier, Secretaries.

By the Conservative Senate,
Cauchy, Secretary-General.

Let the present *Senatus-Consulte* be confirmed by the Seal of State, inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, inscribed in the Registers of the Judiciary and Administrative Authorities, and let the Minister of Justice be charged with superintending its publication.

Paris, April 20, 1802.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ, First Consul.
H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

In the five Letters, lately addressed to your lordship (Register, p. 353, 398, 427, 443, 489), I have endeavoured to shew, that the treaty of Amiens is not only injurious and disgraceful to this country, but that it is so in a much greater degree than

the preliminary treaty, and that, therefore, those, who gave their approbation to the latter, are, by no rule of consistency, bound to approve of the former. The premises leading to this conclusion, have been denied by your lordship and Mr. Addington. This denial has, indeed, been supported neither by proof nor by reasoning; and, therefore, I might safely trust my arguments in the hands of the public, without seeking to strengthen them by the opinions of others. Yet, my lord, when such corroborating testimony obtrudes itself upon me, to neglect to avail myself of it would not correspond with that sincere and anxious desire, which I have to prepare the minds of my countrymen for the numerous and weighty evils to be apprehended from the compact, for the consummation of which you have called on them to rejoice, and to return thanks to God. Without further preface, my lord, I shall now lay before you a translation of an article, taken from the *Mercure de France*, a publication which is not only under the immediate patronage and influence of the French Consul, but the political department of which is actually conducted under the inspection of Lucien Buonaparté himself.

"Resting on, I know not what, expressions of the English Ministers in Parliament, some persons contended that the merit of this peace could not be decided by the preliminaries; that we should wait for the Definitive Treaty, and then the superiority of Great-Britain would be seen.

"The Definitive Treaty has at length been signed, and it is found to be more advantageous, more glorious to France than the preliminaries.

"At the time when this first convention appeared, it was criticised on different grounds. Men considered the benefit which England might derive from the cinnamon forests of Ceylon, and particularly from the superb port of Trincomalee, the true bulwark of India, commanding the Malabar and Coromandel, and all the Archipelago of that Ocean.

"It was calculated too, not what Trinidad was worth, but what it might be rendered by the skillful industry of the English, less interested, perhaps, about the produce of their own soil than eager to monopolize all the commerce of the Orinoco, and the countries adjacent. In addition to these estimates, so flattering for England, were adduced the riches she was to acquire in the Mysore, conquered during the war of the revolution; and people were inclined to believe that the English had carried to the utmost extent of their wishes, their naval and commercial greatness.

"With this situation of England was opposed that of France, aggrandised by Belgium, Savoy, Piedmont, and part of Germany; disposing with



controul of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy; placing herself in the Mediterranean, by the acquisition of Porto Ferrajo—opening in the North a new famous for its ancient commerce, and a port destined, by its situation, to become the emporium of Europe; recovering Martinique, enriched by English capital; obtaining the Spanish part of St. Domingo; establishing herself in Louisiana, and regaining her settlements in India.

Between these two pictures of two states which may cease to be enemies, but *never to be rivals*, it is not difficult to pronounce which of the two gained most by the war. It was demonstrated that France had obtained an irresistible preponderance upon the continent; and that in suffering her maritime power to fall off, *she had not lost the elements of it*,* which consist in her population and her territory.

Such was the aspect of things which the preliminaries offered; and as they have formed the basis of the Treaty of Amiens, it may be said that the war was tried by anticipation. Let us now examine whether it does not secure some *new advantages*† to France and her allies; whether it does not contain certain great features sufficient to render it remarkable in history.

The French were justly alarmed at what was done to England for advances made for the maintenance of more than 20,000 prisoners. The 2d article of the Treaty of Amiens *diminishes the debt of France*. It is agreed that, in the account of the respective advances shall be stated not only the expenses of all the prisoners of the two nations, but also those of the foreign troops which, before being taken prisoners, were in the pay and at the disposal of either of the contracting parties. Thus the expenses laid out upon the 7,000 prisoners given back to Russia *will be stated in deduction from that which France owes to England*.‡ The 7th article secures to France in Guiana an *aggrandizement which the 6th article of the Preliminaries left at least doubtful*, as that article guaranteed to Portugal the integrity of her possessions.§

In the conditions relative to Malta, that important fortress, which the friends of England had often assigned to her, *every thing is favourable to France both in the provisional regulations and the definitive arrangements. As long as the island is Neapolitan it will be French*; and to make it cease to be so will require the concurrence of all the great powers. If at one day the Maltese *Langue* should become dominant, the position, the wants, the temper, the nature of that *Langue* would bring it under the influence of the French Government.||

“Such then are several positive conventions which render the Treaty preferable in point of advantage for France to the preliminaries. But it is not what the treaty expresses that is most advantageous; it is particularly what it *does not* express which ought to form the *subject of joy to the French and their allies*.

“In all former negotiations England had insisted on the renewal of ancient treaties, ascending upwards as far as that of Westphalia. With a scrupulous attention did she always enumerate them, date by date, and also give them new force. Every body knows that almost all those Treaties were onerous to the maritime powers of the Continent, and that they even contained stipulations humiliating for the allies of France. There were coasts in which the Dutch were obliged, in sign of submission, to lower their flag to that of England. This shameful homage had never been contested without producing a war. The reigns of Cromwell and Charles II. afford examples of this truth. *This species of vassalage is abolished*;* and what is more important to commerce, the abrogation of ancient Treaties has removed the fatiguing inconveniences which they occasioned to France and her allies in their navigation, in the administration of their colonies, in their whole commercial system.

“If it were necessary to give an idea of the constraint imposed by these Treaties on the states which then received the law from England, it would be sufficient to state those of 1667 and 1670 *between that power and Spain*. It would then be seen how greatly the navigation of the English was favoured, how greatly the authority of the power with which they traded was limited as to the controul of its own customs and duties. If we were, then, to compare the advantages enjoyed by the English in their relations with the continental powers, with the difficulties opposed to the latter by the famous Act of Navigation, we should not any longer be surprised at the degradation into which their marine had fallen even before the war. We should be rather astonished that the English navy had not borne down every thing.

“The Treaty of Amiens removes all irregularity, all oppression, all restraint. *The old law is destroyed; a new public law commences*.† The French and their allies have gained their naval independence: they will have the sense to make use of it; they will not fall into the snare of a new Treaty of Commerce;‡ and they may one day have their Act of Navigation!

“It is *this* which distinguishes the Treaty of Amiens from all the old transactions of the same

* See Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury on the Preliminaries of Peace.

† See Register, p. 345, &c.

‡ See Register, p. 345, 346, &c.

§ See Register, p. 427, &c. with a map.

|| See Register, p. 353, 354, &c.

* See Register, p. 502.

† See Register, p. 346.

‡ See Register, p. 399 and 400. Dr. Laurence's Speech, p. 231 and 232. Extracts from Hautrive, p. 234, 235, 236.

kind. It is *this* that would render it so advantageous for France, even though it did not put the last seal to that increase of Continental power, which renders her so formidable, and which already obliges England to swell her expenditure by augmenting her militia.*

"There are likewise other features which characterise the Treaty of Amiens, and which will serve to signalise the present epoch. The new constitution of Malta, happy for France, as I have already remarked, is of itself a political phenomenon, which doubtless would excite much astonishment, if the faculty of astonishment were not in some sort worn out. It is an alliance of aristocracy and democracy, of ancient opinions, and of new ideas, of chivalry and philosophy. It is a coalition of two political systems, which had kindled the most cruel war, just as in the Treaty of Westphalia, we see an accommodation between two religions which had been the provocation or the pretext for long and fatal dissensions. If some years ago there had been a state whose chivalrous spirit could have been supposed capable of excluding all access to the revolutionary principle, Malta would, beyond all doubt, have been pitched upon as that state: and yet it is at Malta, that the revolutionary spirit establishes itself after it is weakened every where else! . . . To add to the whimsical air of these combinations, England has contributed, as well as France, to maintain it there. It appears certain at least, that having received from the inhabitants of Malta several plans of a Republic, the English have given effect to the propositions of these islanders in the Treaty of Amiens. Thus democratic principles have found protection from the power that went to war to oppose them!†

Now, my lord, I will not tantalize you with enumerating all the points of comparison and of perfect coincidence between what is here stated by the French and what has before been stated, in the letters and other writings, to which I have referred in the notes; I cannot, however, refrain from making a particular reference to one passage of the observations above quoted, because it at once clears up a point, of great importance, with respect to which your lordship, from the news-paper reports of your late speeches, seem to entertain some doubt.

Those who were weak enough to regard peace as the means of an increase of trade, those who were base enough to approve of any peace that produced this effect, form, as your lordship well knows, the most nume-

rous and most powerful part of your adherents. When, therefore, the Definitive Treaty came, without whispering a word about commercial treaties with the powers, with whom we had made that treaty, and with whom we formerly carried on so extensive and so profitable a trade, the selfish sons of traffic began to look aghast. To avoid, however, the loss of the trusty clan, one of your blundering partizans represented your lordship as having said, that treaties of commerce were of *no use*; but this having rather added to than diminished the alarm, your lordship, by way of explanation, observed, that you had not made use of such words; that you thought, indeed, commercial treaties not of so much importance as had been attached to them, but that, you had never gone so far as to say they were of no use whatever. Fearing that this declaration might be insufficient, you further stated, that "it was natural" that the government of France, after "such a revolution as that country had experienced, must wish for *time to consider* upon what footing the trade of the "two countries ought to be placed, before "they entered into any commercial arrangements: and, that those who were "the best acquainted with the commercial interest of this country, would think "that it would have been better not to "have suspended the negotiation, in order to "have arranged a treaty of commerce. It "undoubtedly was much more beneficial "to this country to leave that as a matter "for subsequent arrangement. This was the "ground upon which the present question "now rested, and not upon any indisposition "communicated by France to enter into such a "treaty."—This explanation was received, in the city, with great pleasure. "O, oh!" said the peace-loving people of Lombard Street, "it is matter for subsequent arrangement. Yes, yes, it was so, indeed; it "was much better not to suspend the negotiation." But, my lord, was this explanation of yours quite candid? Not that I blame your lordship for sporting with the greedy anxiety of these people; but, my lord, between ourselves here at the west end of the town, was it not trifling a little too much to affect a belief, that treaties of commerce, between us and the opposite contracting parties, would become matter of subsequent arrangement? I have great opinion of your lordship's simplicity; but, did you in good sooth believe, that the French wanted "*time to consider* upon what "footing the trade of the two countries

* See Cobbett's Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace.

† See Register, p. 337.

ought to be placed?" They wanted no time to consider of this matter with respect to Russia, Portugal, Turkey, and fourteen other powers,* with whom, within these eight years, they have made treaties of peace, all containing commercial stipulations, and not a few of which treaties were signed upon the drum-head. Time, my lord! they want no time to consider of anything, much less of those things, which may affect the interest or honour of England. They have wanted no time to make such arrangements as shall sap our commercial and maritime greatness. They have, for themselves, entered into trading stipulations with all the world; they have treaties of commerce with emperors, kings, princes, the pope, aristocracies, and democracies; with Catholics, Protestants, Mahometans, and Pagans; with the civilized and the savage; with all nations, peoples, kindreds and tongues, from the successor of the Cæsars to the wandering chiefs of the Illinois.

But, my lord, if it were possible that you could have really entertained any hope of commercial treaty being hereafter made between England and the other parties to the treaty of Amiens; if it were possible for your lordship to found such a hope on the mere circumstance of France not having COMMUNICATED "*any indisposition to enter into such a treaty*," that hope, together with the consolation which it poured into the anxious bosoms of the patriots upon Change, is now completely baffled by the declaration contained in the article above quoted. "*They*" [the powers of Europe] "*will not fall into the snare of a new treaty of commerce*" with England! No, my lord, they will not again fall into our snare; they will be well taken care of; France will be unto them a nursing father and a nursing mother. We have, I repeat, left them at her mercy; and it would be presumption, greater even than our capital, credit, and confidence," would bearrant, for us to hope, that they will make any sacrifice for the purpose of preserving our riches and our power. France has now under her absolute controul all the powers of Europe, with whom we formerly traded to advantage. From the mouth of the Baltic to the Gulf of Venice there is not a single port, from which we shall not

be excluded, and very few from which we are not excluded already. And, my lord, I beg you not to rely on a continuation of our trade with the American States. That market has been greatly diminished by the peace, and, I shall be most agreeably surprised, if, within these two years, it be not completely cut off. Similar causes produce similar effects: Spain and Holland have purchased peace, and, indeed, security, by breaking off their connection with England, by shutting their ports against English commerce; and, be you well assured, my lord, that the Americans will follow their example, the necessity of doing which you have created by giving France the command of a considerable portion of their territory and population. I wish not to check your smiles, my lord; there is a time for every thing, and the time to weep will come soon enough.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett:

Pall Mall, May 5, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The House of Lords met on the 26th of April, but nothing of consequence was done either on that or the two succeeding days. —On Thursday (April 29), Lord Pelham laid before the House of Peers, copies of the Definitive Treaty of Peace between His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, His Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic. They were ordered to lie on the table. After a short pause, Lord Grenville rose, and declared, that as no notice had been given of any motion on the subject, he felt it his duty to move that the treaty should be taken into consideration on Tuesday next, and that their lordships should be summoned for that day. The noble lord was followed by Lord Auckland, who agreed with him as to the magnitude and importance of the question to be agitated. There was one point, he said, which was of itself of sufficient consequence to merit a serious and separate discussion. This was the non-renewal of ancient treaties. He had particularly in his view the convention of 1787, by which, not only the British commercial interest in Europe, but the safety of our possessions in India,

* See Register, p. 481, which contains extracts from thirteen Treaties, made between France and other powers, all containing commercial stipulations.

were most seriously affected. If the noble lord had no particular reason for fixing his motion on Tuesday, he could wish that it were postponed to a later day; but if that were not possible, he should fix for Monday the motion he himself intended to make. *Lord Grenville* declining to alter the day, some conversation took place between *Lords Grenville, Pelham, Hobart* and *Auckland*, which terminated in the latter consenting to postpone his motion till Thursday. In the course of the conversation, *Lord Hobart* declared that he had no hesitation in saying, that, if the French should advance pretensions, they would be founded on the arguments of the noble lord who spoke first in the debate.

Nothing particular occurred in the House either on Friday or Monday.

On Tuesday (May 4), *Lord Grenville* brought forward the motion, of which he had given notice the preceding Thursday. The speech of his lordship was long, animated, and full of argument. It occupied nearly two hours and a half. He began by declaring, that, from the period of communicating the preliminary articles, to that of completing the definitive treaty, he had forbore from troubling the House, being unwilling to do any thing that might even wear the semblance of embarrassing the negotiation. The work was now completed, and he would enter upon its examination. With what sentiments their lordships had perused the definitive treaty; how far they thought it departed from, or coincided with, the preliminary articles, he would not presume to conjecture. To him it appeared to depart from them most obviously and most importantly. It could excite in his breast no feelings but those of disgust, of regret and humiliation. It presented to the world, on the very first view, the picture of national honour sacrificed, of national good faith broken. We might in vain boast of capital, credit, and commerce, if the soul of them were wanting; if our national good faith were gone. Other losses might be repaired; that was irretrievable. These reflexions it was impossible for him not to make, on viewing the treaty, as it regarded our allies; that, therefore, should be the first point to which he would call the attention of the House. How had we acted with respect to Portugal? By the preliminaries, we were to maintain the integrity of her possessions. Instead of this, we had, by the definitive treaty, confirmed the cession of a territory to Spain, and, what was of far more importance, had given to France

new boundaries in Guiana, which would enable her with ease to attain in that country any objects of her ambition. These new boundaries gave to France the command of the Amazons, of the Portuguese Brazilian commerce, and of an East-India navigation in time of war. By the treaty of Madrid, which this treaty had sanctioned, the Methuen treaty was entirely done away. Let us now turn to another ally, the Prince of Orange. He too had been most shamefully abandoned. So old, so faithful an ally, we were bound by every tie of justice and honour to have secured from all loss. But this had not been regarded. The territorial and personal property of the House of Orange was immense. The whole had been confiscated, because the Prince of Orange had performed his duty. We had, indeed, in highly objectionable language, stipulated for his indemnification, but had omitted to notice when, how, or by whom, this indemnification was to be furnished. It was scarcely necessary to mention the juggle that was instantly performed; he meant the article by which France exonerated Holland from supplying any part of the stipulated indemnification. He would now, he said, call the attention of the House to another part of the treaty. And first, of the Cape of Good Hope. By a something called economy, this valuable possession had been surrendered to the enemy. It was at first supposed that the Cape would be made a free port. That idea seemed now to be relinquished, as the Cape was given to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty. In periods of war, this cession would be felt severely. France and her allies could have six ships there, while England could have but two. We should, therefore, be obliged to maintain a fleet of from twenty-four to thirty sail in the Indian Seas to place us in an equality with France and her allies. Yet the Cape was resigned on a principle of economy. The noble lord then turned to the article which regarded Malta. Entering at considerable length into the history of the Order, its qualifications, and the sources of its revenue, he contended that the Order was now degraded, that great part of its estates out of the Island was confiscated, and that the remainder would soon share the same fate. Nothing then was left for the support of the grand-master, and the civil, charitable and military establishments of the Order, but the commercial and territorial revenues of the island, which did not exceed £30,000. To have secured the independence of the

land; it should have been placed under the guarantee of Russia. Instead of this, it was confided to the care of Naples. This was, in effect, to give it to France; and we had the sanction of the French government itself for saying so. In a paper published under the eye of that government, we had been told, that, "as long as the island of Malta was Neapolitan, it would be French." We might then fairly conclude that all our hopes of rendering the island independent had completely failed. The losses of English creditors in the French funds, by the confiscation of two-thirds of French funded property; the stipulations relative to the inhabitants of the ceded countries; and those which concerned the payment of expenses incurred by prisoners of war, were next commented upon by the noble lord. By the present treaty, no provision, he urged, was made for enforcing the claims of British creditors; the inhabitants of the ceded countries were abandoned; and, by the article which related to prisoners, we were made to pay for clothing and arming the Russian troops against ourselves. But the circumstance which appeared to him more fraught with danger than any he had insisted upon, was yet to mention. It was the non-renewal of ancient treaties: a principle equally new and dangerous. By this non-renewal, we had, in truth, abolished the old public law. This France had told us in the paper he before quoted; she had there said: "The old law is destroyed, a new public law commences." By this non-renewal the gum trade and right of cutting logwood would be injured or lost; the safety of our East-Indian possessions endangered, and the honor of the British flag impaired. This point was, he contended, of such vast importance that even now some explanation ought to take place with France upon it before Malta, the Cape, and other conquests were surrendered. His lordship then entered into a review of the recent acquisitions made by France on the continents of Europe and America. To indemnify us for her acquisitions in America, we ought to have asked at least for Martinique; but what was to compensate us for the dominion of Italy gained by her since signing the preliminaries, and without our attempting to stipulate for an equivalent? The noble lord concluded by moving that the House should take the definitive treaty into consideration on Friday se'nnight.

The noble lord was followed by Lord Pelham, who, touching very slightly on

some of the articles urged by Lord Grenville, declared that he should reserve his answers till the day on which the question would be debated. That day, he thought, should not be delayed, and he would therefore propose Tuesday or Wednesday instead of the day moved by the noble lord. With regard to the non-renewal of treaties, he avowed that the definitive treaty would have given him more pleasure, had it revived the old treaties: his Majesty's ministers, however, had made as good conditions as they were able, under the situation and circumstances of the contracting powers; and, inadequate as some of the conditions might be held to be, he flattered himself that, could the sense of the people be taken, they would rather have the peace, such as it was, than a continuance of the war. The treaty was also defended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, and Lord Auckland; the latter of whom pledged himself to prove that our Indian rights could not be injured by the omission to renew ancient treaties. The treaty was, strongly objected to by the Earl of Carlisle. After some conversation, the amendment, that the treaty be taken into consideration on Wednesday se'nnight, was put and carried. On the motion of Lord Auckland, the order for summoning their lordships on Thursday was discharged.

On Wednesday, after the bills on the table had passed a stage each, Earl Spencer rose to give notice that he should bring forward on Friday, a motion for certain papers relative to the island of Malta. The order of the day was then moved and read, upon which the Earl of Carlisle rose, in consequence of the notice given by him on the preceding evening. He commenced by disclaiming in the strongest manner all motives of personal pique in the motion that he had now to bring forward. Several of the members of administration, he professed himself willing to acknowledge, were men of talents, but his original objection to them had been that they were untried men, and he had feared, what the event of the negotiation had too fatally proved, that the circumstances of the country were not such as to admit the experiment of forming an administration from untried men. In the conversation of the preceding day a stain had been cast on the honour of the country, which ought to be immediately wiped out, if possible. He alluded to the Prince of Orange, who, after losing, in the cause of this country, his official dignity and his private fortune, had been aban-

done in the conclusion of the definitive treaty. It was his steady adherence to his treaties with this country, that had caused him to be plundered, and it was, therefore, incumbent upon this country not to lose a moment in enforcing for him an adequate compensation. What security did we possess for the performance of the 18th article of the definitive treaty in favour of the Prince of Orange; it was well known that the ministers of Holland and France had, the very moment after signing the treaty, signed a convention, by which Holland was to be guaranteed from paying any part of the indemnification. His lordship then read and commented upon the convention, and concluded by moving an address requesting his Majesty to give orders that a copy of it should be laid before the House.

On *Lord Pelham* replying that no such communication as was alluded to, nor any notification of it, had been received by his Majesty's ministers, the *Earl of Carlisle* expressed his surprise that the proper person at Paris, had not been instructed to demand a copy. The noble negociator of Great-Britain also ought to have been instructed to obtain a more satisfactory article than that which now related to the Prince of Orange. Had the noble marquis been apprized of the secret convention, he felt confident he would not have suffered the British honour to be stained by a desertion of the Stadtholder and his adherents. This called up the *Marquis Cornwallis*, who declared his belief that there was no ground to doubt that the 18th article would be fulfilled. A long and desultory conversation then took place between the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lords Grenville*, *Auckland*, *Holland* and *Hobart*, the *Earls of Carlisle* and *Rosslyn*, and *Earl Spencer*. The conduct of ministers was defended by *Lord Pelham* and the *Lord Chancellor*, and objected to by *Lord Auckland* and the other noble lords before mentioned. The motion of *Lord Carlisle* was at length withdrawn.

On Wednesday, (April 21), the House of Commons met, for the first time after the holidays. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after some trifling business had been dispatched, moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the bill for continuing the restriction upon payments in cash at the Bank. In a long speech, the right. hon. gentleman retraced the arguments which he had used on a former day. The measure, he urged, was one of necessity. The only doubt which could arise, was, upon the time to which the

restriction should be extended. It was his intention to move that it should be continued till the 1st of March, 1803. In the course of this time, it might be hoped that the course of exchange would be favourable, that the commercial relations of foreign states would find their proper level, and that we should begin to feel all the advantages of our export trade, which had long been, as it were, at a stand. Some observations were made on the motion by *Mr. Tierney* and *Mr. M. A. Taylor*. It was then put, and carried. *Mr. Corry* then gave notice that he should move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the restriction on the Bank of Ireland.

No business of importance came before the House on the following days. The bills before it were forwarded in their respective stages, and several petitions were presented. On Thursday, leave was given to *Mr. Corry* to bring in a bill for continuing the restriction upon the Bank of Ireland.

On Monday (April 26), the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the sale of the land tax. The objects of this bill he stated to be, the prolongation of the term fixed for the sale of the land tax, the repeal of a clause which conferred on proprietors the right of re-purchasing their land tax at a future period, and the adoption of more expeditious measures for the sale of the tax. Leave was given to bring in the bill. Leave was also given to *Mr. M. A. Taylor* to bring in a bill for amending the regulations of the committees appointed to decide on contested elections.

On the question for continuing the restriction upon the Bank of Ireland, some difference of opinion arose. It was stated by *Mr. Vandeleur* and *Mr. Thornton*, that by the restriction on the Bank of Ireland a spirit of banking and of speculation had been created which was highly injurious to that country; that paper was there allowed to be issued for silver, and that, in consequence of this, notes were issued from eight shillings down to sixpence; the effect of which had been that scarce a sixpence was to be found; and that many poor people were reduced to the greatest distress by the failure of those who had issued this paper. Some measure of precaution, therefore, ought to be adopted. To this it was replied by *Mr. Corry*, that the course of exchange depended only upon the largeness or smallness of the remittances made into a country from other states; and though it was, at present, against Ireland,

et it might reasonably be hoped that the revival of the linen manufacture, and the export of corn from the late abundant harvest, would soon turn its course. That the paper circulation of Ireland had been so great was to be lamented, but he hoped that a check would be given to it, by some considerable failures which had happened. These failures, though distressful to individuals, would probably serve as a general lesson to all parties, and, therefore, he thought it would be better to leave the matter to itself. The bill was then read a second time, and committed for the next day.

A debate of some length and importance took place the next day on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, that the House should go into a committee on the bill for continuing the tonnage, import and export duties. The motion was opposed in a long and able speech by *General Gascoyne*, member for Liverpool. Declaring, that the system under consideration would be productive of the worst consequences to our trade, he urged that the duties were rendered still more oppressive to England, by an exemption having been granted to the Irish merchant: which exemption, would enable the Irish to undersell the English merchant very considerably.

By the present bill the imposts upon some articles would be greater than the freight, and the export of many would be checked. Tallow and rock salt were instances of this. The latter, in particular, was a great article of export from the place he had the honour to represent, but, by this bill the exportation would be materially diminished. Already thirty out of every hundred ships belonging to that port were lying idle. In this situation our sailors would be obliged to enter into the service of other countries. There was another also, and a powerful consideration to be urged against the bill: it was that there were at this moment four foreign to one British vessel employed in the exports and imports of the country. This, which was a considerable evil, would be increased by the present measure, which would operate as a double impost on the shipping of this country, for it would not only be a heavy burden upon their tonnage in exports and imports, but upon the raw materials of which they were made. In conclusion the hon. member reverted to the exemption granted to Ireland, and hoped that it would be done away, and the impost regulated on a footing of equality.

The measure was also opposed by *Sir Robert Peel*, *Lord Sheffield*, *Mr Burdon*, *Mr. Dent*, and *Dr. Laurence*. It was urged that, however proper a duty of this kind might be during a war in which we had no competition to dread, it was manifestly impolitic at a time when we could only contend in the market, with other nations, by means of superior merit and cheapness. The tax now proposed must be levied by the manufacturer on the purchaser, the consequence of which would be that other nations, burdened with no tax of the kind, would be able to manufacture cheaper. With regard to shipping, though every necessary article was extremely high, yet the price had fallen thirty per cent. In the Eastern ports the duty would be most heavily felt, as the ships belonging to them made several voyages in a year, and would therefore be subject to the payment of the duty several times over, while ships going longer voyages would only pay once. *Dr. Laurence*, in particular, went at some length, into the objections against the measure. In addition to what had been before advanced, he pointed out, among others, the duty on naval stores as highly injudicious, and likely to be productive of great injury to this country.

The lead in defending the measure was taken by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who, in a speech of some length replied to the objections of *General Gascoyne*. Regretting that the principle of the measure should be objected to by the representative of a great commercial place, he declared that he could not agree with the hon. member. However government might wish that the necessary burdens should press as lightly as possible on the people, those burdens must be borne. The convoy duty was imposed not merely to defray the expence of convoy, but because it was thought that the commercial part of the community having been great gainers by the war, ought to contribute to its support. The duty had been cheerfully acquiesced in for three years, and as circumstances had not changed, it was to be expected that the continuance of the tax would meet with approbation. The right hon. gentleman entered into a calculation to prove that our tonnage and exports and imports had increased during the war, and that they had not been injured by the operation of the tax. From this he drew an inference that the continuance of the tax could not be injurious. As to the danger of being

rivalled by foreign nations, he declared that he did not think it was to be apprehended. He relied on British capital and credit. With regard to the employment of foreign vessels, it had arisen, he said, from the great extension of our commerce. That the export trade now experienced a stagnation, was true; but this arose from merchants rather chusing to wait till the regular routes were opened, than to send their goods by circuitous ones. He concluded by declaring that it was his intention to move some modifications in the committee, and expressing a hope that the House would not be led to abandon a measure of great utility, by objections more specious than solid.

He was followed on nearly the same grounds by *Mr. Corry*, *Mr. W. Dundas*, *Lord Castlereagh*, *Lord Hawkesbury*, and the *Attorney General*. The House then went into a committee. Several amendments were proposed by *Mr. Vansittart* and received. After some conversation, the Chairman quitted the chair, and the report was ordered to be received on the next day.

Little was done the next day (Wednesday) in the House. Some bills were forwarded and leave given to bring in others. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose, and stated to the House, that in consequence of the dissatisfaction which had been manifested at the supposed partiality shewn to Ireland, in the export and import bill, it was the intention of an hon. friend of his, when the Irish ways and means came to be considered, to move that Ireland should be charged with the same duty on exports as Great-Britain. The amendments were received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

The only circumstance of importance that took place in the House of Commons on Thursday, (April 29) was the bringing up a copy of the Definitive Treaty by *Lord Hawkesbury*. In laying it before the House, the noble lord declared, that it was not the intention of government to make any motion upon the subject. It was competent for any member so to do, and he had reason to believe that something of that sort was intended. He would only say, that ministers, whenever the treaty was discussed, were ready to come forward and state fully and explicitly the grounds which induced them to advise his Majesty to sign it. At the same time he must deprecate any discussion which did not bring the whole matter at once

before the House. Such a discussion he called for, and any thing short of it he should consider as not fair or liberal. *Mr. Windham* then rose, and, briefly noticing what had fallen from the noble lord, declared that he should propose Monday next, not as a day for debating the question, but merely to explain the grounds on which some future day should be fixed for the discussion. The question was then put and carried.

On Friday, some previous business having been dispatched, the House, on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, resolved itself into a committee of ways and means. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then proceeded to state to the committee the contract which had been made for the lottery of the present year. The principle upon which it was made he declared to be that of procuring the greatest possible benefit to the revenue, with the least injury to the public morals. The practice of low insuring had been found of the most mischievous tendency. The present lottery was so ordered as in a great degree to get rid of that evil. It was proposed to have three lotteries within the year, each of which should be drawn within eight days. It was also proposed to consolidate the Irish lottery with the English. The profit on this contract would amount to £555,000; two-thirds of which were appropriated to Great-Britain, and the remainder to Ireland. He concluded by moving, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of £1,455,000 be raised by three lotteries. After some observations the motion was agreed to, and the number of tickets fixed at one hundred thousand. A long conversation then took place on the bill for the better regulation of the Irish linen-manufacture. On the ground that a large quantity of flax seed imported into Ireland, and which was unfit for use, had been branded by the collectors as good, it was proposed to take the duty out of the hands of the collectors, and place it in those of a person appointed by the linen board. This was opposed by several members. A committee was at last, on the suggestion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, appointed to consider so much of the Irish acts, respecting the linen-manufacture, as related to the importation of flax seed into Ireland.

On Monday (May 3) *Mr. Windham* brought forward his motion for fixing a day to take into consideration the defini-

the treaty. He prefaced this long and frequent speech by observing, that it was now his intention to solicit the decision of the House on the merits of the treaty: It was merely his intention to move a day for that purpose. Ministers had not thought proper to make any motion on the subject, on the ground that the preliminary articles having been approved, there was no reason for discussing the definitive treaty. To this reasoning he certainly could not agree. They had likewise expressed a hope, that, should there be a discussion, it might be full and fair, not a partial, one. If by this was meant that the subject should be discussed in all its different relations, he concurred entirely with them; but if it was meant that the whole was to be decided on one day, he must say that it was not doing justice to a question of so great magnitude. In considering the subject before him, he should take it under four points of view. First, circumstances existing, but unknown to this country at the signing of the preliminaries. Secondly, those which took place in the interval between the signing of the preliminaries and the definitive treaty. Thirdly, the variations in the definitive from the preliminary treaty; and, fourthly, those points in the definitive treaty which did not exist in the preliminaries. The first class might be divided into three heads: the cession of the island of Elba, the limits of Guiana, and the cession of Louisiana. With respect to the value of Elba, as an excellent station and impregnable fortress, he would forbear to enlarge upon it. All the necessary papers were before the House. He would only speak to the manner in which it was obtained, which was by the most disgraceful tricking and chicanery. At the time of our stipulating to restore it, we believed that it was to belong to the King of Etruria, while the French, at the same time, had obtained the cession of it to themselves. The next step in the climax of fraud was the new boundaries of Guiana. We had stipulated for the integrity of Portugal, which by this article was grossly violated. We, it was true, obtained a small alteration of the limits; but this was only one fraud exchanged for another; the danger remained the same. The third and most important head was the cession of Louisiana. By this cession, America, on the North, was laid at the feet of France. On the South, France had no limits but

her will, and the whole treasures of the new world must flow into her hands. There was not one of these articles which did not call for the revision of the preliminaries, and cancel the obligation of abiding by them.

In the second division the establishment of the Italian Republic, and the sailing of the French armament to the West-Indies, were the only circumstances to be noticed, but they were, indeed, of a most important nature. With regard to the first point, he would say, that, if such a situation of things had happened, without the interference of either party, the preliminaries might fairly be considered as done away. But what should be said when that act was the act of one of the contracting parties? What must Austria feel when she saw those territories which she might have looked upon as a barrier against France, now converted into the means of force to be used against her? As to the sailing of the French armament, though bearing less upon the present question, it was a matter of serious importance, and might become one of serious enquiry. No one could deny that, by the mode in which we had acted, we were giving, before the conclusion of peace, a helping hand to what we had sacrificed so many lives, and spent so many millions, to destroy. By this armament our situation in the West-Indies was materially altered, and the French power was established much sooner than it would otherwise have been.—On the third head, the article respecting prisoners was first to be noticed. A large debt was due from France for the maintenance of her prisoners. This debt we had not the courage to demand, and some mode was to be found of getting rid of it. The expedient, therefore, was to set off the expenses of the maintenance of prisoners taken from our allies: that is, we were to pay for the clothing and supporting of those Russian prisoners, whose good treatment was the lure used to draw their sovereign from our alliance. Malta was the next point touched upon by the hon. gentleman, who urged nearly the same arguments which have before been stated as used by Lord Grenville in the other House. By the stipulations, he added, of the treaty, we were peremptorily to evacuate the island in three months; another clause enjoined that it should be delivered up, but made no mention of the order. As to the neutrality of the island which was said to be proclaimed, it was doubtful what species of neutrality was meant. If the word was to be taken

in its common acceptation, reckoning Holland and Spain her allies, France might have eighteen ships there to our six. The Cape of Good Hope had, the hon. gentleman said, been ceded to Holland in "full sovereignty," and it was not to be supposed that these were mere idle words. Nothing, in effect, could hinder Holland from making it over to France the instant she had received it.—Of the fourth and last division, the object of greatest moment was, the total neglect to renew all former treaties. By this step the treaties of 1783 and 1787, which related to the East-Indies, were given up, and all our rights placed merely upon their original foundation. What the claims of the French were, and how they had pursued them before those treaties, was well known. It was not to be believed that the French would be less backward now, than they had been, in asserting their claims. Perhaps the first news we might hear from India would be, that those claims were to be brought to issue in the field of battle. This was an object of such magnitude, that the probable loss of the gum trade, and right to cut logwood, could hardly excite our attention. Among the points next to be considered was the shameful desertion of the House of Orange. We had, indeed, stipulated an indemnification for the stadtholder, but without troubling ourselves when, or from whence, it was to come. The sequel of that stipulation was well known. It was not thus that France had treated her allies; she had extended her protection to the very meanest of those who had joined her cause.—Were there any voucher wanting for the truth of his statements, it might be found, the hon. gentleman said, in a French paper just received. There all he had urged was avowed in plain terms. Under these circumstances he thought that time ought to be allowed for the proper contemplation of the subject, and should therefore move that the definitive treaty be taken into consideration on the 18th instant.

On the motion being put, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose in answer to Mr. Windham. It was not, he said, necessary for him, at this moment, to enter into a detailed refutation of the arguments advanced by the hon. member, but he would, however, slightly touch upon some of them. Of the island of Elba he should only say, that the concessions concerning it were made by a sovereign power, fully competent to the act, and that this could not be considered as a circumstance which ought to

induce the rupture of the negotiation. Much stress had also been laid on the concessions made in Portuguese Guiana; but to this he should only reply, that Portugal had declared herself fortunate in obtaining terms so favourable. That the possession of Louisiana by France was a matter of regret no one could deny, but he could not agree that this possession laid America at the feet of France, as France, without it, might have made herself formidable to either North or South America. With regard to the Italian Republic, no disposition had appeared in the powers of Europe to show disapprobation: on the contrary, they had sanctioned those very proceedings that so much alarmed his right hon. friends. Great stress had been laid on the armament which had sailed to the West-Indies; but could that armament be to us a matter of regret? Was it not of the utmost consequence, even to ourselves, that the black usurpation should be destroyed? On the other points of debate the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* touched in the same manner, and concluded by moving an amendment, that the treaty should be taken into consideration on the 11th instead of the 18th of May. He was supported by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Pitt, and opposed by Mr. T. Grenville. The amendment was carried. Mr. W. Elliot then gave notice, that he should move on Wednesday for some documents necessary to the elucidation of the definitive treaty.

The next day (Tuesday, May 4), the *Secretary at War* moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to accept the offers of service of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps. This gave rise to a conversation between the right hon. mover, Mr. S. Stanhope, Sir W. Young, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. The question was then put and carried, and leave given to bring in the bill.

On Wednesday Mr. Elliot rose to move for different papers connected with the definitive treaty. The first paper for which he declared his motion of moving was the treaty of Badajos; that between Portugal and Spain by which the town of Olivenza was ceded to the latter power; the second was copies of any conventions or armistices concluded between Portugal and Spain in the year 1801, and communicated to the British Government. These, he urged, it was to be feared contained many commercial stipulations injurious to this country, and one of them was the basis of a treaty by which a great part of Portuguese Guiana was ceded

France. The hon. gentleman then entered into the importance of the consequences which might result from this cession. By means of the ceded country France entrouled the navigation of the Amazons, and the whole wealth of South America lay at her mercy. When the noble lord was pressed for an explanation on the present point, he at least gave one from which it appeared that the *entire* dominions of Portugal meant all of which she had not been spoiled. The third paper he should move was a copy of any treaty or treaties that might have been entered into between France and Spain during our late negotiation. By a treaty made between these two powers France had got possession of Louisiana, by which means she was brought up to the very confines of Canada, and might at any moment separate Kentucky and the Western States, from the United States. By this means France would always keep America dependent upon her, and might draw her into any confederacy against our naval greatness and the dignity of our flag—if indeed the expression could be used after the dignity of our flag had been disgraced and degraded. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving an address to His Majesty requesting him to be pleased to order a copy of the treaty of Badajos to be laid before the House. The hon. gentleman was replied to with some degree of asperity by Lord Hawkesbury who declared that if the hon. gentleman was not disorderly, he had, at least, adopted a strange mode of proceeding, such as had never before been used by any opposition, in the height of action. Gentlemen seemed inclined to take the widest possible range in their preliminary motions. With regard to Portugal, he was surprised that the Definitive Treaty should be regarded as having departed from the preliminaries. Questions had been repeatedly, and rather vexatiously put to him, to which he had always replied that the Arrowari was to be the boundary between the two Guianas, and that the Treaty of Badajos was in force. No bad faith had been shown to our ally. On the contrary, we had not only released her from her engagements but furnished her with a sum of money. To the first motion, the noble lord said, he had no objection; nor to the second, if confined to the Treaty of Madrid; and as to the third, no communication had been made to the British government. The hon. gentleman had talked of the dignity of our flag being degraded, but he would say that nothing could degrade

it so much as the language of that hon. gentleman. Dr. Laurence after animadverting upon the language of the noble lord, was proceeding to notice the non-renewal of former treaties, but was stopped by the *Speaker*, as being out of order. He was at last, however suffered to go on, and accused the noble lord of having misrepresented the speech of his hon. friend relative to the British flag. It was, he said, the cavils of ministers only that had degraded its dignity; of those ministers who had surrendered our last remaining symbol of sovereignty over the British seas, for which even in the profligate reign of Charles the 2d the nation had engaged in a war. Lord Temple and Mr. T. Grenville followed on the same side of the question. Lord Hawkesbury explained that he had not meant to attribute factional motives to the gentleman on the other side. After some observations by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the first and second motions were agreed to, and the third was negatived.

On the motion of Lord Hawkesbury the consideration of the Definitive Treaty was postponed from Tuesday to Wednesday.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, April 28.—The administration of the customs at Lisbon demanded for the introduction of *French cloths*, a duty almost double to that paid on English cloths. C. LAFARGUE, agent of the marine for the exchange of French prisoners at Lisbon, has obtained an equality. The minister of foreign relations has given notice of this circumstance to the merchants, by publishing LAFARGUE's letter on that subject.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

By referring to our report of the Proceedings in Parliament, it will be perceived, that the members of the legislature have, at last, awakened from that lethargy, in which they, for some time, seemed to be sunk. We long ago observed, that the conditions of the Definitive Treaty were so widely different from those of the Preliminaries, that no person, who approved of the latter, was, for that reason, bound to approve of the former, and we are happy to perceive, that the sentiments of many very worthy men, concur, in this point, with our own. The several motions for papers have

given rise to partial discussions, and have tended to throw great light on the nature and consequences of the several parts of the treaty, previous to the consideration of the general question. Had all the numerous and various topics of this important transaction been crowded into one single discussion, the Parliament would have been hurried into an approval of that, on which we most sincerely hope and believe they will finally set a lasting mark of their reprobation.

While we exult in contemplating the vast weight of talents, of experience, of wisdom, and of character, which is now openly arrayed against this ruinous and disgraceful treaty, we cannot help feeling some degree of shame at the miserable resistance opposed by his Majesty's ministers: in them, however pusillanimous their conduct, however disastrous and dishonourable its consequences, we still see the servants of our King, and, as such, we cannot but blush at the exposure of their imbecility, which is daily and hourly bringing upon us the ridicule and contempt of the world.

The mind of the public keeps pace, in the change which has lately been produced, with the mind of the parliament. The debates are sought after and read with uncommon interest; those who, at first, rejoiced at the peace, begin to tremble for its effects, while those, who disapproved of it, are confirmed in their disapprobation. The conduct of Mr. Pitt is the subject of general conversation, frequently it is a subject of censure, and universally of surprise. Many persons imagined it possible that he would endeavour to palliate the terms of the treaty, some that he would yield it a partial defence, but none that he would defend it *in toto*. What are the hopes of Mr. Pitt, in what part of this ominous transaction his enlightened and penetrating mind can discover consolation, it is impossible for us to say; but, he is now fairly and irrevocably embarked; the wretched adventurers have inveigled him on board their crazy vessel, and he must weather the storm with them, or sink in the attempt. His reputation is great, his talents are greater, but neither reputation nor talents will long resist the cries and reproaches of a ruined and dishonoured people.

While we are disputing about the consequences of the treaty of Amiens, the French are engaged in the more profitable employment of giving effect to its stipula-

tions. They have, as was stated in the Register, p. 494, already cut off our portion of the *gum trade*; and, by referring to our Foreign Intelligence, it will be seen, that they have demanded and obtained the admission of French cloths into Portugal, upon the same terms as the cloths of England. This is, indeed, no more than we had reason to expect; but it shows how active, how vigilant and prompt they are in whatever has a tendency to promote their grand object, *the destruction of our commerce and our maritime power*.

We have no news from St. Domingo. A strong re-inforcement for the army there is about to sail from France, as also an armament for Louisiana. From the United States of America we learn, that a great quantity of provisions had been ordered for St. Domingo. The French flag was, after an interval of many years, once more seen flying in the Delaware, and the tricoloured cockade was once more, thanks to the baseness of England, seen in the streets of Philadelphia!

The decree respecting the emigrants, which will be found under the head of Public Papers, appears to us well calculated to increase the strength of the present government of France. That it is any thing rather than an act of *mercy* is certain; but it will, nevertheless, diminish the number of the Consul's enemies. It contains a most invidious and ruthless distinction between the different descriptions of emigrants; but this, too, will tend to weaken, and finally to destroy, the only power on earth of which Buonaparté is, or need be, afraid. Some few thousands of loyal Frenchmen will still remain unreconciled to the Republic, and these will serve her for a most excellent purpose. Shunned, deserted, abandoned, nay, persecuted, by the princes, under whose banners they had ranged themselves, the Consul will leave them to wander and weep through the world, a woeful example of the effects of fidelity to their lawful sovereign.

We regret exceedingly that we have not room for several of the articles, which have been sent us, and in particular on the GUM TRADE, which discovers much ingenuity in the writer.—It shall certainly appear in our next.—A paper on TONNAGE is also inevitably postponed.

TO THE PUBLIC.

I have before stated, that the persons apprehended for the assault upon my house, the night of the last illuminations, were CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), a clerk in the General Post-Office; CHARLES WAGSTAFF, another clerk in the General Post-Office; JOHN HARWOOD, a sort amanuensis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe and to British Critic; JOHN PARNEL, an Excise Officer; SAMUEL WISE and WILLIAM HARRY, the former a servant to a Brush-maker Aldgate, and the latter an under waiter at the Gray's Inn Coffee-House. The five were, on Tuesday last, brought up to Bow Street for re-examination, the proceedings at which have been grossly misrepresented by the news-papers; where it has been stated, by the True Briton in particular, that "the matter was fully investigated, counsel attending on both sides to argue the merits of the case; but Mr. Bond, Sir William Parsons, and several other magistrates who were present at the examination, being of opinion that the offence amounted to nothing more than a misdemeanor, the defendants were admitted to bail, to answer that complaint at the next Middlesex Sessions." This is a direct falsehood, intended to impose upon the public, and also to influence the decision of the court and jury on the ensuing trial. The matter was not investigated at all; no examination whatever took place, the capital part of the charge was rescinded by my counsel, who acted by my direction. The magistrates gave no opinion whatever on the subject. I had new and very powerful evidence to produce, but I was not willing to take advantage of it: my rescinding the capital charge was an act of clemency, and as such it was felt, and publicly acknowledged, by Mr. Mackintosh, the counsel for the prisoners. I well know, that every public print in London will lean towards these people; I well know the influence which the General Post-Office has over the news-papers; I am, in short, fully apprized of the numerous and various arts that will be employed, on this occasion, but I will defeat them all. There is not a court in Europe to which this Register does not already go. It circulates widely amongst the best of the people of this country, of America, and of the West and East-Indies. But, if that foul play, which the news-papers have begun, is continued, there is

no shape or form that print can assume, from a ballad to an imperial placard, from a child's book to a folio, into which a true account of this transaction shall not be moulded. All that I want is fair play.

The concern which the public have in this matter is the only thing that could justify my saying so much about it. The assault at my house, particularly when the situation of the principal assailants is considered, fully proves, that the illumination was a matter of force and not of choice. I mentioned in the Register, p. 347, that it was the people from the General Post-Office, who forced the illumination, as far as it went, on the 29th of March, and, I think, the public will now perceive, that I was well acquainted with the influence employed for effecting that disgraceful purpose. The DEPUTY COMPTROLLER of the Foreign Department of the Post-Office became bail for the prisoner WAGSTAFF. MR. ALEXANDER, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, gave bail for the prisoner BELOE, an act of condescension which is truly exemplary. There was no joy in London on the night of the illuminations. Ninety-nine hundredths of the people put up lights from no other motive than that of saving their windows. The illumination was the effect of fear, not of pleasure. The lighting was accompanied with curses on those who had compelled it. It was perfectly natural for Mr. Otto to rejoice: his illumination was the emblem of his country's triumph over ours: his house was the brightest, mine the most gloomy, in London. This was as it should be: he felt the greatest pleasure at the moment, and I was amongst those who felt the greatest sorrow. All that I wanted was to be suffered to indulge that sorrow in quiet; not to be forced to put on smiles while anguish filled my heart; not to be compelled to give a mark of approbation to a measure, which I had publicly reprobated, and in which I saw the inevitable ruin and subjugation of my country.

I cannot dismiss this subject without again adverting to the paragraph in the ministerial paper, called the True Briton, in which me and my partner are represented as "two American booksellers." This is, perhaps, one of the most base artifices that ever was employed in any country or in any time. Shall the men, who have recourse to means like this, talk of faction? I never was factious; I never appealed to the mob; never to the ignorance and dis-

content, but to the sense and loyalty, of my readers. I now appeal to those higher and better qualities, nor am I without some hope, that my appeal will be finally successful. The "delirium of joy" has passed away; reflection has succeeded, and reflection will be followed by alarm; the consequences of the peace will do the rest.

To the many letters and messages which I have received, respecting the health of Mrs. Cobbett, and to which it is absolutely out of my power to make separate and suitable returns, I beg leave to give this general answer, that she is as well as I could reasonably expect.

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 8, 1802.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Admiralty-Office, April 29, 1802.

This day, in pursuance of the King's pleasure, the following Flag-Officers of his Majesty's Fleet were promoted, viz.

James Pigot, Esq. and Right Hon. William Lord Radstock, Vice-Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.

Alexander Groeme, Esq. and George Keppel, Esq. Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

Charles Chamberlayne, Esq. and Peter Rainier, Esq. Vice-Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

Sir George Home, Bart. and Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

John Willett Payne, Esq. and Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 30th ult. Right Honourable Lady Porchester, of a son, at Pixton, Somersetshire.

Marriages.—On Monday the 26th ult. at Edinburgh, the Hon. George Vere Hobart, second son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to Miss Janet Maclean, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Maclean, of Coll, Esq.

Deaths.—On Good Friday last, in Belfast, the Countess Dowager of Roden.—On Sunday se'nnight, at her seat at Wentworth Castle, Mrs. Hatfield Kaye, sister to the last Earl Strafford.—On Tuesday the 30th of April last, at her house, the Priory, at Hit-

chin, Hertfordshire, Lady Penelope Farnaby Radcliffe, widow, and relict of the late Sir Charles Farnaby Radcliffe, Esq.—On Monday last, at Bath, in the 79th year of his age, the Rev. Mr. Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, and father of the gallant Lord Nelson.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	Wednesday..	76 $\frac{1}{2}$
Monday....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	Thursday....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	Friday.....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113 $\frac{1}{4}$.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 57 f. 20 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Eng. Wheat per q.	57	to 73	Hops per cwt...	83	to 101
Foreign.....	48	.. 70	Hay per load	37	.. 91
Rye.....	35	.. 39	Beef, per stone....	5s.	to 5s. 10
Barley.....	30	.. 34		5s.	9d.
Malt.....	36	.. 46	Mutton..	6s.	8d. to 7s. 6d.
Oats.....	12	.. 19	Veal.....	6s.	to 7s.
Pease.....	28	.. 33	Pork....	6s.	to 7s. 6d.
Beans.....	30	.. 38	Tallow.....	4s.	6d.
Flour per sack ..	50	..	Average of Sugar		
Seconds.....	44	.. 50	per cwt.....	38s.	6d.
Coals per chal....	29	.. 38			

Bread Nine Pence Halfpenny the Quarter Loaf.

Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F. 10 15 2 us.	LEGHORN.....	32
D ^o , at sight 10 12	NAPLES.....	44
ROTTERDAM.. 10 16 2 us.	GENOA.....	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
HAMBURGH.. 32 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.	LISBON.....	69 $\frac{1}{2}$
ALTONA 32 82 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.	OPORTO.....	69 $\frac{1}{2}$
PARIS 2 us .. 23 13 liv.	DUBLIN.....	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
BOURDEAUX, d ^o 23 14	VENICE, 57 livres piccole	
CADIZ 34 in paper	effective per £. ster.	
DITTO 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ effective	BILBOA.....	38 D ^o
MADRID .. 34 in paper	PALERMO	
DITTO 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ effective	Agto, bank on Hol. p.c.	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Months of April and May, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds.		Barometer.		Thermo-	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
29		Windy.	NE	NE	29,85	29,87	45	50
30		Fair.	NE	NE	30,05	30,03	48	50
1		Windy.	ENE	E	29,98	29,97	50	50
2	●	Fine.	NE	NE	29,97	29,9	48,5	60
3		Rain.	NE	NE	29,95	29,95	52,5	50
4		Fine.	NE	NE	30,1	30,11	45	50,5
5		Fair.	NE	NE	30,18	30,18	47	55

● New Moon ☾ 1st. Quar. ○ F. Moon. ☽ Last Quar.